

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 1316

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PORG, PINT, WA, SF
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

SUMMARY: A WEEK AFTER SWAPO' ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN
PROPOSAL, THERE IS A MEASURE OF UNCERTAINTY IN ALL QUARTERS
IN NAMIBIA ABOUT THE FUTURE. DESPITE PUBLIC POSTURING TO
THE CONTRARY, LOCAL SWAPO LEADERS WERE SURPRISED AT THE
DECISION. THE CONSERVATIVE AND MAJORITY PORTION OF THE WHITE
POPULATION IS DISMAYED AT THE PROSPECTS BUT PROBABLY WILL
STICK IT OUT TO SEE WHAT HAPPENS. THE DTA'S MORALE HAS BEEN
BOOSTED SINCE CASSINGA AND MORE RECENTLY BH THE TURNOUT IN
THE VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN. THE DTA, HOWEVER, HAS
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SERIOUS LEADERSHIP AND IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS. MEANWHILE,
THE NNF FEELS THAT SHIPENGA'S AFFILIATION HAS GIVEN IT NEW
MOMENTUM, BUT WHAT SUPPORT THE FORMER SWAPO LEADER WILL
ACTUALLY BRING TO THE FRONT IS UNCERTAIN. MOST OBSERVERS
BELIEVE BOTH SWAPO AND THE DTA WILL SPEND ENORMOUS SUMS OF
MONEY IN THE COMING MONTHS AND THAT BOTH ARE LIKELY TO TEST
THE LIMITS OF THE SITUATION BY THEIR POLITICAL ACTION.

END SUMMARY.

1. ON THE EVE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETINGS ON THE WESTERN PROPOSALS ON NAMIBIA, LIFE IN WINDHOEK GOES ON UNCHANGED. THE BLACK TOWNSHIP OF KATATURA SEEMS PEACEFUL, STYLIST SHOPPERS AND HERERO WOMEN IN VICTORIAN FINERY BUSTLE ALONG SUNNY KAISER STREET, AND AT NIGHT A MULTIRACIAL CLIENTEL JIGGLES AND JUMPS TO THE CANNED MUSIC AT PIGGIES DISCO ON TOP THE KALAHARI. BUT UNDERNEATH, THERE IS A MOOD OF EXPECTANCY AND IN ALL QUARTERS UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE FUTURE.

2. THE POLITICALLY AWARE RECOGNIZE THAT WITH THE ARRIVAL OF THE UNSR, AN ENTIRELY NEW RANGE OF PROBLEMS AND CRISES WILL BEGIN. THE DTA AND THE NNF ARE ALREADY WORRIED ABOUT THE SELECTION OF NATIONAL CONTINGENTS FOR THE UN MILITARY FORCES AND FOR THE UNSR'S CIVILIAN STAFF. THE TWO MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH ALL THE PARTIES SEE AS REQUIRING IMMEDIATE ATTENTION IS THE TIMING OF THE ELECTION AND THE DECISION ON WHETHER TO CONTINUE THE CURRENT VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN. INTERNAL SWAPO LEADERS EXPECT THE ELECTION TO BE HELD IN MARCH AND SURPRISINGLY THEY SAY THEY WILL HAVE NO TROUBLE IN CAMPAIGNING IN THE NORTH DURING THE RAINY SEASON. DTA OFFICIALS STILL TALK OF HOLDING THE ELECTIONS BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR BUT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN. NNF ON THE OTHER HAND WOULD PREFER TO DELAY THE PROCESS UNTIL WELL IN THE SPRING. ALL OBSERVERS ARE ANXIOUS TO SEE HOW THE

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UNSR AND THE AG WILL WORK TOGETHER AND IN PARTICULAR HOW THEY RESOLVE DISPUTES.

3. MEANWHILE, THE THREE MAJOR PARTIES ARE GEARING UP FOR THE COMING STRUGGLE. ALL FACE DIFFICULT LEADERSHIP, POLICY AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE COMING MONTHS. NEW MONEY IS EXPECTED TO FLOW TO THE DTA TO ENABLE IT TO KEEP UP AND EXPAND ITS CURRENT ORGANIZATION; AND THE LOCAL SWAPO TREASURER PRIVATELY COMMENTED THAT MONEY WOULD BE NO PROBLEM FOR HIS PARTY. SWAPO AND THE DTA ARE ALREADY WARNING OF INTIMIDATION AND SKULLDUGGERY BY THE OTHER. INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS EXPECT BOTH TO TEST THE LIMITS OF THE SITUATION BY THEIR POLITICAL ACTION. FOLLOWING IS A BRIEF REVIEW OF OTHER REACTIONS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN WINDHOEK.

4. THE WHITES. THE MOST SURPRISED AND DISMAYED BY THE TURN OF EVENTS ARE THE MAJORITY CONSERVATIVES IN THE WHITE POPULATION. MANY IN THIS GROUP STILL REMAIN SKEPTICAL THAT THE SETTLEMENT WILL ACTUALLY BE IMPLEMENTED. SKEPTICS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SPECTRUM CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THE HARD-CORE NATIONALISTS WILL REALLY LET GO WITHOUT A FIGHT. BUT A. H. DU PLESSIS SEEMED TO ACCEPT THE FIRST STEP WHEN HE TOLD

A NATIONALIST PARTY MEETING ON JULY 19 NOT TO BELIEVE RUMORS THAT WHITES WOULD HAVE TO HAND OVER THEIR ARMS TO THE UN TROOPS.

5. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT WHEN THE INTERNATIONAL FORCES ARRIVE, ONLY A SMALL NUMBER OF OLD "SOUTHWESTERS" WILL PICK UP STAKES AND LEAVE; THE MAJORITY, IT IS PREDICTED, WILL SEND OUT WHAT LIQUID ASSETS THEY CAN AND STICK AROUND TO SEE IF THE PROCESS DOES NOT COLLAPSE OR IF SOMETHING CAN, IN THE END, BE SALVAGED. ONE LOCAL ECONOMIST, HOWEVER, WARNED THAT GOVERNMENT AND DTA PROPAGANDA WAS ASSURING A MASS FLIGHT OF CIVIL SERVANTS AND BUSINESSMEN IF SWAPO SHOULD WIN THE ELECTIONS.

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6. BUT WHILE SOME PRIVATE CAPITAL IS LEAVING AND BANK DEPOSITORS ARE SWITCHING THEIR ACCOUNTS TO THE REPUBLIC, BUSINESS AT LEAST IN WINDHOEK APPEARS TO BE BOOMING. ALL OFFICE SPACE, FOR EXAMPLE, IS RENTED IN THE TOWN'S SIX MAJOR OFFICE BUILDINGS. THIS SITUATION IS SAID TO RESULT FROM

THE RECENT AND ONGOING ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT SUB-SIDIARIES IN WINDHOEK BY LARGE CORPORATIONS IN EXPECTATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND BY THE ABSENCE OF NEW OFFICE BUILDING CONSTRUCTION IN THE PAST YEAR OR TWO.

7. THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE TOLD US THAT BUSINESSMEN ARE PLEASED THAT THE LONG HIATUS IS OVER AND THAT
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NAMIBIA WILL NOT HAVE A "TRANSKEI" INDEPENDENCE. IN ADDITION, LOCAL BUSINESSMEN ARE ALSO CHEERED BY THE LARGE TURNOUT IN THE CURRENT VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN, WHICH THEY SEE, AS A GOOD OMEN FOR THE DTA.

8. SWAPO. LOCAL SWAPO LEADERS WERE SURPRISED BY THE DECISION IN LUANDA, ALTHOUGH MOST WILL DENY IT. ONE OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED THE MEETING SAID PRIVATELY THAT THE PARTY HAD HAD NO ALTERNATIVE, THAT "IT WAS PUT IN A POSITION WHERE IT HAD TO ACCEPT." HE WAS CLEARLY REFERRING TO PRESSURE FROM THE FRONT LINE. ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE, OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, THE INTERNAL LEADERSHIP WILL FAN OUT OVER THE TERRITORY TO EXPLAIN THE DECISION TO LOCAL COMMITTEES. HE SUGGESTED THERE WOULD BE SOME DIFFICULT QUESTIONS. THE SAME SOURCE SAID HE FELT IT WAS THE RIGHT DECISION, BUT THERE IS A FEELING AMONG SOME PARTY SUPPORTERS AS WELL AS OTHERS THAT ACCEPTANCE AT THIS TIME IS PSYCHOLOGICALLY DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR SWAPO. FOR ONE THING, SOUTH AFRICA IS SEEN AS HAVING HAD THE INITIATIVE SINCE APRIL, WHEN IT FIRST ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL. PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, CASSINGA HAS NOT BEEN AVENGED AND THE SAG AND THE DTA HAVE RECOVERED FROM THEIR DEMORALIZATION WHICH FOLLOWED THE ASSASSINATION OF KAPUUBO EARLIER IN THE YEAR. NUJOMA ALSO APPEARS TO HAVE EATEN HIS DEMANDS FOR CHANGES IN THE PROPOSAL AND FOR INCORPORATION OF WALVIS BAY PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE. FINALLY, THE RELEASE OF SHIPENGA AND THE TURN OUT IN THE REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN ARE PERCEIVED BY MANY AS AT LEAST TEMPORARILY FAVORABLY FOR THE DTA.

9. ACCORDING TO DAN TJONGARERO ABOUT 300 SWAPO CADRE WILL RETURN TO NAMIBIA SOON AFTER THE PLAN IS IMPLEMENTED IN ORDER TO EXPAND THE FORCE OF PARTY WORKERS. THE IMMINENT INFLUX OF EXILES HAS PROBABLY CAUSED SOME UNCERTAINTY AMONG INTERNAL SWAPO LEADERS ABOUT THEIR OWN FUTURE ROLE. THERE IS ALSO
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CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION IN NON-SWAPO CIRCLES ABOUT THE PARTY'S TOP LEADERSHIP POSITION. DTA AND NNF SUPPORTERS

ARE HOPING FOR A POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN TOIVO AND NUJOMA. SWAPO OFFICIALS INSIST THAT THE TWO WILL WORK AS COMRADES BUT NO ONE WILL VENTURE TO SAY WHO WILL EMERGE AS NUMBER ONE.

10. DTA. THE FACTORS WHICH TROUBLE SOME SWAPO SUPPORTERS CAUSE DTA LEADERS TO BELIEVE THAT THE WESTERN PLAN IS GETTING OFF TO AS GOOD A START AS POSSIBLE. THE DTA, HOWEVER, IS STILL SUFFERING FROM ITS OWN LEADERSHIP AND IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS. THE NEW HERERO LEADER, RIRUAKO, HAS MAJOR DIFFERENCES WHICH SOME OF THE DTA' POLITICAL PRINCIPLES, INCLUDING "THE OVER-EMPHASIS ON ETHNICITY." DIRK MUDGE SAYS THAT RIRUAKO NOW HAS "A BETTER UNDERSTANDING" OF THE SITUATION, BUT GERSON VEII, CHAIRMAN OF THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL FRONT, CLAIMS RIRUAKO WANTS TO JOIN THE NNF AND IS DETERRED FROM DOING SO ONLY BECAUSE 400 HERERROS ARE NOW ON THE DTA PAYROLL AS FULL OR PART-TIME WORKERS AND THE NNF CAN NOT TAKE THEM OVER. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THE DTA WILL HAVE TO MOVE TO A MORE NATIONALIST PLATFORM IN THE COMING POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IF IT IS TO HAVE A CHANCE.

1. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE DTA AND SWAPO IMAGES IS APPARENT IN VISITS TO THE TWO OFFICES. SECRETARY-GENERAL BILLY MARAIS AND A SWARM OF OTHER WHITES ARE CLEARLY RUNNING THE SHOW. MIDDLE-AGED AND OLDER BLACKS SIT IN THE RECEPTION ROOM, WAITING, ONE ASSUMES, FOR INSTRUCTIONS OR PERHAPS A JOB. DIRK MUDGE PRESIDES OVER IT ALL FROM HIS MORE FANCY REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFICES SEVERAL BLOCKS AWAY. AT SWAPO, ON THE OTHER HAND, YOUNGER BLACKS PREDOMINATE BEHIND THE DESKS AS WELL AS AMONG THE HANDERS-ON. NO WHITES ARE SEEN.

12. THE NNF. THE NNF, WHICH NEVER HOPED TO CONTROL OR DOMINATE THE PROCESS OF INDEPENDENCE, APPEARS TO HAVE LESS MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WESTERN PLAN THAN
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EITHER THE DTA OR SWAPO. THE NNF DELEGATION RETURNED FROM EUROPE WHERE THEY CONFIRMED SHIPENGA'S COMMITMENT TO JOIN THE FRONT AND, ACCORDING TO BRYAN O'LINN, PUT "A LITTLE SOMETHING IN THE PIPELINE" IN THEIR SEARCH FOR FUNDS.

13. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE DISAGREEMENT OVER THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SHIPENGA'S RETURN AND AFFILIATION WITH THE NNF. SWAPO LEADERS CONCEDE THAT IF THE PARTY HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, SHIPENGA COULD HAVE HAD A CONSIDERABLE IMPACT IN ATTRACTING OVAMBO PARTICIPATION IN AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT; BUT NOW THAT SWAPO HAS ACCEPTED THE PLAN, THEY SAY, HE WILL FADE AWAY LIKE OTHER SWAPO DEFECTORS SUCH AS KERINA AND APPOLLUS. DTA AS WELL AS SWAPO OFFICIALS BELIEVE SHIPENGA COULD HAVE PULLED MORE VOTES BY RUNNING INDEPENDENTLY UNDER

A "SWAPO-DEMOCRAT" BANNER RATHER THAN JOINING NNF. A MINORITY GROUP IN THE NNF ALSO OPPOSES SHIPENGA'S AFFILIATION WITH THE FRONT AS THEY BELIEVE HE WILL ACTUALLY HURT THE PARTY AMONG OVAMBOES. VEII AND O'LINN ADMIT THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT SUPPORT SHIPENGA WILL DRAW, BUT THEY BELIEVE THAT IF HE CAN, AS PROMISED, BRING BACK SEVERAL HUNDRED DISSIDENTS WILLING TO WORK FOR HIM, HE COULD MAKE IMPORTANT INROADS IN OVAMBO. WHILE THE NNF IS GAINING MOMENTUM, IT IS ALSO PLAGUED WITH INTERNAL PROBLEMS, INCLUDING SOME RESENTMENT AT THE PROMINENT AND AGGRESSIVE ROLE BEING PLAYED BY THE TWO IRISHMEN, O'LINN AND KIRKPATRICK.

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GQRM VOTER REGISTRATION. ACCORDING TO THE REGISTRAR OF VOTERS, AS OF JULY 14, 214,000 OUT OF AN ESTIMATED VOTER POTENTIAL OF 450,000 HAD REGISTERED IN THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN. CHURCHMEN AND JOURNALISTS REPORT NUMEROUS STORIES OF BLACKS BEING INTIMIDATED INTO REGISTERING BY THEIR WHITE EMPLOYERS, WHO

ALSO ALLEGEDLY ARE URGING OR REQUIRING THEIR WORKERS TO OBTAIN DTA CARDS. SOME OBSERVERS ATTRIBUTE THE HIGH TURNOUT TO THE INFLUENCE OF HEADMEN AND TO THE FACT THAT NEITHER SWAPO NOR NNF ARE LEGALLY ABLE TO CAMPAIGN AGAINST REGISTRATION. IN THE "TRIBAL" AREAS, ACCORDING TO THE REGISTRAR, HEADMEN ARE RELIED UPON TO CONFIRM IDENTIFICATION OF REGISTRANTS, MOST OF WHOM HAVE NO IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS. CRITICS CHARGE
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THAT THIS SYSTEM ALLOWS MULTIPLE REGISTRATION, BUT THEY CAN NOT OFFER A BETTER SOLUTION.

15. THE CHURCHES. MEANWHILE, A SPLIT IS REPORTEDLY DEVELOPING IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH BETWEEN SWAPO AND NNF SUPPORTERS. BISHOP DE VRIES IS SAID TO BE LEADING THE LATTER GROUP WHEREAS BISHOP AUALA IS STICKING WITH SWAPO. THE STRUGGLE IS CENTERING AROUND CONTROL OF THE NEWSPAPER WHICH THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION HAS REPORTEDLY AGREED TO FINANCE. DE VRIES WANTS KURT DALHMAN, FORMER EDITOR OF WINDHOEK'S GERMAN-LANGUAGE PAPER, TO HEAD THE NEW JOURNAL WHILE AUALA AND OTHERS FAVORS DAN TJONGARERO. DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR THE PAPER HAVE BEEN HELD UP PENDING RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. THERE IS ALSO SAID TO BE A BUDDING EFFORT TO UNSEAT DE VRIES AS PRESIDENT OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN NAMIBIA.

16. THE CLERICS ARE UNITED IN BELIEVING THAT THE PROSPECTS OF AN EARLY CEASEFIRE IS ALMOST TOO GOOD TO BELIEVE. THEY FORESEE ONE MORE YEAR OF TENSION AT BEST AND WORLD ATTENTION AFTER WHICH AS ONE SAID NAMIBIA HOPEFULLY WILL THINK BACK INTO ITS DESERVED OBSCURITY.
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